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AMERICAN MUNICIPAL COUNCILS.

CONSIDERING the amount of published discussion on municipal government in the United States, it is somewhat surprising that there should be a lack of definite information concerning the primary facts of municipal organization. Most of the literature, however, which deals with the structure of municipal government is devoted to advocacy of proposed changes; and references to existing conditions are either confessedly limited to a few cities, or are vague statements, often erroneous because made without the detailed investigation which must be the foundation of any safe generalization. Yet it would seem that the task of securing a satisfactory system of municipal organization would be aided by a comprehensive examination of existing methods; and that it would be worth while for students of this problem to understand with some degree of exactness what are the leading practices and prevailing tendencies of the time.

It is in this belief, and as a first step in this direction, that this paper has been prepared. Much of the information has been secured by a series of inquiries addressed to the cities which, according to the census of 1900, have a population of more than 25,000. The facts thus collected have been supplemented by other data from various sources. The study deals for the most part with the structural organization of municipal councils. Some remarks are added in reference to the general character of the powers conferred on these bodies; but there is no attempt to analyze the minutely enumerated "powers" — which are in fact rather limitations — which form so large a part of most municipal charters.

Number of chambers.—In the early days American city councils were always single bodies, like the town councils in England after which they were modelled. During the nineteenth century the bicameral system was introduced in many cities, sometimes in imitation of the bicameral state legislatures and the federal Congress, but in Massachusetts as a development from the town meeting

government. At one time or another most of the large cities have had a bicameral council; and, while many of them have returned to the single-house system, two councils are still found in Philadelphia, St. Louis, Boston, Baltimore, Buffalo and Pittsburg — one-half of the cities with over 300,000 population. Apart from the large cities, the bicameral system is now almost confined to New England, Pennsylvania, Virginia and Kentucky; but there are a few other sporadic cases, as in St. Paul, Atlanta, Wheeling, Mobile and Chattanooga. In the United States as a whole, about one third of the cities of over 25,000 population have the bicameral system. In the smaller cities the proportion is less: in 1892, out of 376 cities with over 8,000 inhabitants, only 82 had a bicameral council. The single-chamber council, which has always been the more prevalent form,¹ is found, among the large cities, in New York, Chicago, Cleveland, Cincinnati, San Francisco, New Orleans, Detroit and Milwaukee.

In some cities which have nominally only a single council there is another body, which, although ostensibly only an executive authority, has some resemblance to a second branch of the council. Such bodies are the boards of estimates in New York City and in the four cities of the second class in New York State, and the boards of public service in Ohio cities.

Number of members.— In this respect there is naturally a wide difference between large and small cities; but there is seldom any definite relation between the size of a city and the size of its council. For the most part the councils are smaller than in European cities. Philadelphia, with 41 members in the select council and 149 in the common council, has by far the largest membership. Next to this come Boston with 88 members in two councils, New York with 79 members, and Chicago with 70, in a single chamber. There are few other cities with more than forty members, and by far the larger number have less than thirty. In New England cities the councils are usually larger in proportion to the population than in other parts of the country. Some cities

¹ Mr. Bryce's statement (*American Commonwealth*, ch. 50) that the bicameral system is the more common must have been based on limited investigation, confined to the larger cities of the Eastern states.

have strikingly small councils. San Francisco has only eighteen members, New Orleans only seventeen, and the cities of Iowa from six to ten. In Memphis the council consists of the board of fire and police commissioners and the board of public works, meeting as one body of eleven members. In Galveston the powers of a council are exercised by a board of four commissioners, two of whom are elected and two appointed by the governor of the state.

Term of service. — The term of service in municipal councils varies from one to four years in different cities; but the prevailing period is clearly two years. In New England annual elections for the whole membership of the council are still almost universal. Elsewhere biennial terms are to be found with few exceptions; but in many places one-half of the members are chosen each alternate year, so that there is a municipal election every year. The most important instances of longer terms may be noted. In Philadelphia, while the members of the common council serve for two years, those in the select council are chosen for three years. So too in St. Louis and Buffalo, while the larger chambers of the councils have a two-year term, the members of the smaller chambers are elected for four years. A three-year term is also found in Mobile for both branches of the council; and a four-year term in Memphis, Evansville, Charleston, Birmingham, Sacramento and La Crosse.

These short terms for members of city councils are not offset by any strong tendency to continuous re-election; and, as a result of the almost complete changes which take place, generally within two years, there is little opportunity for members of the councils to acquire experience in municipal affairs. Specific information about the length of service is difficult to obtain; but the following data for a few cities will illustrate the general statement. From 1836 to 1900 there had been in Newark, New Jersey, a total of 569 aldermen. Of these 342, about 60 per cent, had held the position for two years or less; 49 had served for three years, and 117 for four years. Only 61, or a little over ten per cent, had served for more than four years; and 40 of these had only one or two years additional. Of the remaining 21, 17 were aldermen from seven to ten years; and the four holding records for longest service

held the positions for 13, 14, 16 and 22 years respectively.¹ The St. Louis house of delegates for 1899-1901 had among its 28 members but eight who had served in the previous house, and only two who had a longer term of service. One of these two, however, had been a member of the house for 14 years.² The Cincinnati board of legislation in 1900, out of 31 members, had four who were also on the board in 1895. The Cleveland council of 1901-02 had not a single member who was on the council in 1895.

The Chicago council in recent years shows a larger proportion of re-elections. Of the 35 members whose terms expired in the spring of 1902, 22 (nearly two-thirds) were re-elected and have now completed their fourth year, at least, of service. Seven have served for six years, four for eight years, and one member has been in the council for 14 years. At the council election in Detroit in 1901, seven of the 17 members chosen were re-elected.

Mode of election. — Members are for the most part chosen by wards or districts. This system is almost universal for single-chambered councils and for the larger house in bicameral councils. Most often each district chooses one or two members. The number of cities having one member from each district and the number having two are nearly the same; but in the large cities the one-member district is more general, this plan being followed in New York, St. Louis, Baltimore, Buffalo, Cleveland and Cincinnati, while the two-member plan is followed in Chicago and Detroit. Boston and many other New England cities have three members from each ward; while a few cities in New England and Pennsylvania (Philadelphia, Pittsburg and Allegheny) have a variable number — presumably in proportion to the population of the various districts.

It has often been urged that this district system constitutes one of the main factors in the election of inferior and dishonest members of municipal councils. It is contended that at best it lends itself to the election of members who will pay more attention to the needs of their district than to the larger interests of the city as

¹ Compiled from Common Council Manual for Newark, 1900, pp. 148-155.

² Municipal Code of St. Louis, 1900, pp. 1011-1026.

a whole; and that the concentration of the worst elements of the city's population in some wards makes inevitable the election of a number of very objectionable members. Moreover the ward lines seldom mark off any natural divisions of the city, with a developed local sentiment and opinion; and the making and changing of ward boundaries lends itself to artificial gerrymandering for partisan purposes. Even without deliberate gerrymandering, it is quite possible, under the district system, for a minority of the voters to elect a majority of the council; or for a comparatively small majority to elect practically the whole council.

In rapidly growing cities other difficulties are introduced. The increase in population is not spread uniformly over the whole city, but is concentrated in certain districts, while at the same time there is a decrease of residents in the business sections; and it is thus almost impossible, if the prevailing system of equal representation in each ward is maintained, to adhere even approximately to the theory of representation in proportion to population. The subjoined table demonstrates this inequality for a number of the larger cities;¹ and similar if less striking figures might be given for the smaller cities. It is, moreover, of special significance that, in the largest cities at least, the districts with relatively small and

¹ MUNICIPAL WARD AND DISTRICT POPULATIONS, 1900.

	MOST POPULOUS DISTRICT	LEAST POPULOUS DISTRICT	AVERAGE DISTRICT POPULATION	No. DIST- RICTS	No. 20% OVER AVERAGE	No. 20% UNDER AVERAGE
New York*	122,395	25,959	60,000	35	10	14
Chicago	106,124	11,795	49,000	35	10	17
Philadelphia	65,372	6,953	32,000	41	14	17
Boston	32,566	12,840	22,000	25	5	3
St. Louis	27,998	12,212	20,000	28	5	3
Baltimore	24,117	19,201	21,000	24	0	0
Cleveland	60,504	17,679	34,700	11	4	4
Buffalo	29,414	6,488	14,000	25	6	13
San Francisco	27,836	12,797	19,000	18	4	2
Cincinnati	15,995	3,763	10,000	31	11	6
Pittsburg	22,669	660	8,500	38	12	20
New Orleans	31,663	4,484	17,000	17	6	5
Detroit	28,281	9,313	17,000	17	2	3
Milwaukee	21,903	5,418	13,500	21	8	6

* Manhattan and Bronx.

decreasing population, which thus have an excessive representation in the councils, are often districts where the worst elements of the population are to be found. If the districts were of equal area, the congestion in the slum districts would give the opposite effect; but the small area of the slum wards, and the tendency of population there to decrease as the business sections develop, bring about this over-representation of such wards. Thus in New York the Battery district is the smallest; and in Chicago, before the recent re-districting, the first ward was one of the smallest.

Some exceptions to the prevailing system of district representation should be noted. Where the single-chamber council exists, the most general of these exceptions is the election, in addition to the ward representatives, of a small number of members from the city at large. This plan is followed regularly in Indiana and Iowa, has been adopted in the new Ohio code, and is found in a few other sporadic cases.¹ In a few cases all of the members are elected at large, as in the board of supervisors which takes the place of the council in San Francisco, and the boards which act as the council in Memphis. More frequently, the smaller body in a bicameral council is elected from the whole city instead of by wards; indeed, for these bodies the general ticket system is almost as common as the district system. This general ticket system is followed in St. Louis, Buffalo, Louisville, St. Paul, and commonly in Massachusetts and Kentucky. But in Boston the aldermen have been chosen by districts; and in the Pennsylvania cities select councils are elected by wards, each ward having one member in these bodies, irrespective of population, while in the common councils the representation of wards is apportioned on the basis of population.

Minority representation.— Under a general ticket system of voting one party is almost certain to elect all of the members chosen at one election, and a large minority of voters — or even a majority, if the election is decided by a plurality — may have no representation in the council. To obviate such a result, various schemes of voting have been devised; and several of them have been put

¹ San Antonio, Dallas, and Montgomery.

in operation, but only in a few places, and usually to be abandoned after a few years. In New York City an elected board of ten governors for the almshouse was established in 1849, two to be chosen each year. Each voter had but one vote and the two candidates who received the largest number of votes were elected. In 1857 a board of supervisors for New York County was established to be chosen on a similar plan. Each voter could vote for but six of the twelve members to be chosen; the six candidates receiving the largest vote were declared elected, and the six candidates next in the order of their vote were to be appointed by the board. These methods gave the principal minority party equal representation with the party casting the largest vote. A slightly different method was followed for the New York board of education in 1869, when there were seven elected members and five appointed from the candidates next in number of votes to those elected. From 1873 to 1882 a similar system of minority representation was in operation in New York City for the election of the municipal council. Six aldermen were chosen at large, but no elector could vote for more than four; the remainder were elected in five districts, each choosing three members, but no elector could vote for more than two.¹ Some time after these experiments had been abandoned in New York, the same principle of limited voting was applied in Boston, in 1893, for the board of aldermen — the smaller branch of the city council. The twelve aldermen were elected at large; but no elector could vote for more than seven. After a few years this arrangement was abandoned, but a somewhat similar plan went into operation in the fall of 1903. A slightly different plan, which secures much the same results, is now in operation for the election of the board of sanitary trustees in Chicago. Each voter has nine votes — the same number as the number of members on the board — and these

¹ POLITICAL SCIENCE QUARTERLY, xiv, 691. Under this system not only were a considerable number of Republican members elected, but the different factions of the Democratic party were also represented. The change to the single-member system was made without discussion or popular demand, and there seems reason to think that it was made in the interest of uniting the Democratic factions under one control. It is perhaps significant that within two years after the system of minority representation was abandoned a board of aldermen was elected which became notorious for the bribery of its members.

votes may be given one to each of nine candidates, or they may be distributed among not less than five candidates.

These plans of limited voting ensure a certain kind of minority representation; and some of the earlier plans gave a larger representation to minorities than they could justly claim on the principle of majority rule. All of these devices are open to serious objections. On the one hand, the courts have held, in some states, that where an elector is not permitted to vote for the full number of persons to be elected, he is deprived of his constitutional rights. On the other hand, these plans have been criticised from the point of view of public policy. Resting as they do on the assumption that the voters are permanently divided into two organized parties, they tend to promote the conduct and control of municipal elections by the national party organizations. This reduces the influence of independent voters. Even where such voters hold the balance of power, they can control the election only of one or two members; and in most cases a nomination by either of the principal parties has proved to be almost equivalent to an election.

Other plans of minority and proportional representation have been proposed and discussed; but none except those described above have as yet been put in operation in municipal elections in this country. Among the plans proposed is that of cumulative voting, which has been employed with considerable satisfaction in Illinois since 1870, for electing members of the State House of Representatives.¹

Compensation. — Some financial compensation or salary is paid to members of municipal councils in nearly all of the large cities, and in the majority of the smaller cities. The largest salary, \$2,000 a year, is paid to the New York aldermen. The members of the Chicago council and of the Boston board of aldermen have each \$1,500. The annual stipend is \$1,200 in San Francisco, Detroit and Los Angeles; and \$1,000 in Baltimore, Buffalo and Denver. In other cities the amount is usually between \$200 and \$400, or,

¹ Cumulative voting has been held to be unconstitutional in Michigan (84 Michigan, 228); and probably in most states an amendment to the state constitution would be necessary before it could be legally established.

in smaller places, from \$2 to \$5 per meeting. Even in the St. Louis assembly and in the Boston common council the members receive only \$300 a year. Where the compensation is a fixed amount per meeting the payment is often dependent upon attendance; and in other cases there is a reduction in salary or a fine imposed for absence. In some cases the president of the council receives a larger salary than the other members; and in New York City this official is paid \$5,000 a year.

In many cities, however, the older rule of no salaries to members of municipal councils is still followed. This is almost the universal rule in New England (except in Boston) and in Pennsylvania; it obtains frequently in New Jersey and in the Southern states, and occasionally in other states.¹ The largest cities where no salaries are paid are Philadelphia, Pittsburg, Newark, Jersey City and Louisville.

Social standing of councillors. — The inferior standing and character of persons elected to large American city councils has been a frequent subject of remark, but there have been few attempts to study this point in detail. In 1895 Mayor Matthews, of Boston, collected some definite facts on this point for the city of Boston. He presented statistics showing that, during the first fifty years after the creation of the city government in 1822, from 85 to 95 per cent of the members of the council were owners of property assessed for taxation; but that after 1875 the proportion had rapidly declined, and in 1895 less than 30 per cent of the council members were property owners. Not only had the percentage of property owners declined, but the total assessed value of property owned by council members, which had been \$986,400 in 1822, and \$2,300,400 in 1875, had fallen to \$372,000 in 1894. Mr. Matthews' statistics are reproduced in the table on the following page.

Meetings. — Regular meetings of councils in large American cities are usually held on a fixed evening in each week; in less important cities, including, however, such places as Milwaukee and Toledo, once a fortnight; and in the smaller cities often not

¹ In the states of the Middle West the only instance among cities of over 25,000 appears to be Oshkosh, Wisconsin.

PROPERTY INTERESTS OF MEMBERS OF THE BOSTON CITY COUNCIL.¹

BOARD OF ALDERMEN.

YEAR	NO. OF MEMBERS	NO. ASSESSED	PER CENT OF MEMBERS ASSESSED	AMOUNTS ASSESSED TO MEMBERS	TOTAL ASSESSED VALUATION OF CITY	PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL VALUATION ASSESSED TO MEMBERS
1822	8	8	100.00	\$146,100	\$42,140,200	.00347
1830	8	8	100.00	99,400	59,586,000	.00167
1840	8	8	100.00	168,800	94,581,600	.00178
1850	8	8	100.00	261,800	180,000,500	.00145
1860	12	12	100.00	622,900	276,861,000	.00225
1870	12	12	100.00	476,200	584,089,400	.00081
1875	12	12	100.00	769,600	793,961,895	.00097
1880	13	11	84.61	197,900	639,462,495	.00031
1885	12	7	58.33	457,900	685,579,072	.00067
1890	12	8	66.66	206,200	822,041,800	.00025
1895	12	9	75.00	105,500	928,109,042	.00013

COMMON COUNCIL.

1822	48	45	93.75	840,300	42,140,200	.01994
1830	49	38	77.55	228,300	59,586,000	.00383
1840	48	40	83.33	204,400	94,581,600	.00216
1850	48	36	75.00	225,850	180,000,500	.00125
1860	48	41	85.41	1,116,400	276,861,000	.00403
1870	64	56	87.50	1,050,900	584,089,400	.00180
1875	74	61	82.43	1,530,800	793,961,895	.00192
1880	75	42	56.00	667,000	639,462,495	.00143
1885	72	29	40.55	290,300	685,579,072	.00042
1890	73	20	27.39	315,700	822,041,800	.00038
1895	75	16	20.33	266,500	928,109,042	.00029

more than once a month. In small cities and also in some important cities, as Chicago, Providence and Grand Rapids, the mayor presides; but in most large cities there is usually a president of the council, sometimes chosen by the council, sometimes elected as a councilman for the whole city.

Committees. — As in Congress and the state legislatures, much of the effective work of municipal councils is performed by standing committees. In most large cities there are from fifteen to twenty-five regular committees, appointed to different branches of municipal administration. Some cities with bicameral councils provide for joint committees of the two chambers, and in this way reduce the chances for a deadlock. The number of committees

¹ N. Matthews, *City Government of Boston*, p. 171.

and the subjects referred to each vary from time to time in each city.¹ These committees have normally from three to seven members. They hold meetings at irregular intervals, according to the business before them. In small cities they have often direct supervision over the technical agents and the employees of the city in their respective branches of administration; and often, while special administrative officers or boards have been created for some department in a given city, other departments remain under the immediate control of council committees.

Powers. — It would serve little purpose to examine the host of detailed powers granted to city councils under the system of special legislation, enumerated powers and strict construction which prevails in all of the states. But a few remarks may be made about each of the two primary divisions, into which these powers may be classified: the control over administrative officers, and the power of enacting ordinances.

Control over administration. — While both Congress and the state legislatures have and exercise large powers in the creation of administrative offices, municipal councils in most states have very limited powers in this direction. The general situation on this point has been well summarized by Judge Dillon:

The charter or constitution of the corporation usually provides with care as to all the principal officers, such as mayor, aldermen, marshal, clerk, treasurer, and the like, and prescribes their general duties. This leaves but little necessity or room for the exercise of any implied power to create other offices and appoint other officers. It is supposed, however, when not in contravention of the charter, that municipal corporations may to a limited extent have as incidental to express powers the right to create certain minor offices of a ministerial or executive nature. Thus, if power be conferred to provide for the health of the inhabitants, this would give the corporation the right to pass ordinances to secure this end, and the execution of such ordinance might be committed to a health officer, although no such officer be specifically named in

¹ Detroit has at present the following list: Ways and means, claims and accounts, judiciary, franchises, grade separation, streets, fire limits, house of correction, public buildings, sewers, taxes, street openings, printing, markets, public lighting, parks and boulevards, ordinances, pounds, health, licenses, city hospitals, liquor bonds, rules, charter and city legislation, and bridges.

the organic act, if this course would not conflict with any of its provisions. But the power to create offices even of this character would be limited to such as the nature of the duties devolved by charter or statute on the corporation naturally and reasonably require.¹

The general law governing municipal corporations in Illinois gives the city councils in that state a much larger field for the creation of local offices than is usually possessed. This statute provides only for a city council, mayor, clerk, attorney and treasurer, and then authorizes the council by a two-thirds vote to establish such other offices as it deems necessary and to discontinue any of these offices by a like vote. In the words of the statute:

The city council may in its discretion, from time to time, by ordinance passed by a vote of two-thirds of all the aldermen elected, provide for the election by the legal voters of the city or the appointment by the mayor with the approval of the city council of a city collector, a city marshal, a city superintendent of streets, a corporation counsel, a city comptroller, or any or either of them, and *such other officers* as may by said council be deemed necessary or expedient. The city council may by a like vote, by ordinance or resolution, to take effect at the end of their fiscal year, discontinue any office so created and devolve the duties thereof on any other officer.²

In many cities the councils retain a considerable power of appointment to municipal offices. The position of city clerk is more frequently filled by council appointment than in any other way.³ Less frequently the councils elect to other offices, and sometimes fill all important positions. This large appointing power is found in Minneapolis, Providence, generally in New England (except Boston and Connecticut cities) and Pennsylvania (except the four largest cities) and in some smaller cities, as St. Joseph, Birming-

¹ Dillon, *Municipal Corporations*, § 207.

² Revised Statutes of Illinois, 1899, ch. 24, § 73.

³ The council does not select this officer in Chicago, St. Louis, San Francisco, Detroit or Indianapolis, nor generally in the cities of Illinois, Indiana, Michigan, Wisconsin, Kentucky or Missouri.

ham, Montgomery and Fort Worth. More often, however, offices other than that of city clerk are filled by election, or by the nomination of the mayor, subject to confirmation of the council. In some cities this power of the council to confirm is used by individual members of the council to dictate nominations; but in other cities, as in Chicago and Cleveland, the mayor's nominations are regularly confirmed. In a number of larger cities even the power of confirmation has been taken away; but this development might more properly be noted in a study of the powers of the mayor.

The council has nearly always the right to receive reports from the various municipal departments, and to investigate the work of the departments by means of its committees. The control exercised in this way is made effective by the power of the council over the finances, and especially by its authority over appropriations. It has often happened, however, that this power has been used not to limit but to increase the expenditures, and in such a way as to help the aldermen's political prospects rather than for the best interests of the city. In consequence of this, in some important cities the financial powers of the councils have been very materially limited. In the principal cities of New York State the councils cannot increase the appropriations above the sums placed in the budget by the board of estimates—a device similar to that followed voluntarily by the British House of Commons. In Chicago, on the other hand, the finance committee of the city council has a large influence in determining the appropriations.

Ordinance power.—Judicial decisions have laid down certain general principles which govern and limit the ordinance power of municipal councils. Municipal ordinances must be reasonable and lawful; they must not be oppressive in character; they must be impartial, fair and general in their application; and they must be consistent with the public policy of the state as declared in general legislation.

The output of city ordinances generally varies with the size of the city; and in the large cities the enormous total is far beyond the power of any individual to comprehend. The New York ordinances make a comparatively small volume of 250 pages; but this

is because so much that elsewhere is done by council ordinance is done for New York by legislative enactments and is found in the 900 pages of the city charter, while many ordinances are established by the police, health and other administrative departments. The Chicago ordinances are in two thick volumes of 1,000 pages each; those of St. Louis cover more than 500 large pages of fine print; small cities usually have all their ordinances in a pamphlet of perhaps not more than 100 pages.

In most cases this mass of municipal law is printed without any attempt at systematic classification. A frequent method is to arrange the ordinances by subjects, in alphabetical order. The city of Nashville, however, commendably publishes its ordinances according to a definite system which groups together those covering related subjects. The first part presents the ordinances relating to the election and appointment of municipal officers. The second part gives the ordinances governing the duties of the various municipal departments. The third part has the police regulations affecting the general public, in two divisions: one containing the ordinances to secure order, decency and good morals; the other, the ordinances for public convenience and safety. The fourth part includes the ordinances on financial affairs, including the permanent tax laws, the annual budget, and ordinances providing for bond issues. The fifth part gives the municipal and ward boundaries. In an appendix are collected the grants and franchises to railroads, lighting plants, telegraph and telephone companies, and other special privileges.

Statistics. — In the following pages tabulated statistics are presented, showing the organization of the municipal councils in nearly all the American cities which, according to the census of 1900, had a population of 25,000 or more.

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STATISTICS OF AMERICAN CITY COUNCILS, 1903.

	SINGLE OR LARGER HOUSE				SMALLER HOUSE			
	NO. OF MEM-BERS	HOW CHOSEN (1)	TERM	SALARY (2)	NO. OF MEM-BERS	HOW CHOSEN (1)	TERM	SALARY (2)
New York	79	73 + 6	2	\$2,000				
Chicago	70	2 × 35	2	1,500				
Philadelphia	149	n × 41	2	none	41	1 × 41	3	none
St. Louis	28	1 × 28	2	300	13	A. L.	4	\$300
Boston	75	3 × 25	1	300	13	A. L.	2	1,500
Baltimore	24	1 × 24	2	1,000	8		2	1,000
Cleveland	33	27 + 6	2	600				
Buffalo	25	1 × 25	2	1,000	9	A. L.	4	1,000
San Francisco	18	A. L.	2	1,200				
Cincinnati	32	26 + 6	2	1,200				
New Orleans	17	1 × 17	4	240				
Pittsburg	51	n × 38	2	none	38	1 × 38	4	none
Detroit	34	2 × 17	2	1,200				
Milwaukee	46	2 × 23	2	400				
Washington ³								
Newark	30	2 × 15	2					
Jersey City	25	2 × 12	2	none				
Louisville	24	2 × 12	2		12	A. L.	2	
Minneapolis	26	2 × 13	4	500				
Providence ⁴	40	4 × 10	1	300	10	×	1	500
Indianapolis	21	15 + 6	5	150				
Kansas City	14	1 × 14	2	300	14	A. L.	4	300
St. Paul	11	1 × 11	2	100	9	A. L.	2	100
Rochester	20	1 × 20	2					
Denver	16	1 × 16	2	1,000				
Toledo	16	13 + 3	2					
Allegheny	40	n × 15	2	none	15		4	none
Columbus, O.	15	12 + 3	2	442				
Worcester	24	3 × 8	1	none	9		2	none
Syracuse	19	1 × 19	2	200				
New Haven	45	3 × 15	2		30		2	
Paterson	22	×	8	400				
Fall River	27	18 + 9	2					
St. Joseph	15	2 × 7	2	200	9		2	200
Omaha	9		3	900				
Los Angeles	9	1 × 9	2	1,200				
Memphis ⁵	11	A. L.	4	120				
Scranton		×	21					
Lowell	27	3 × 9	1	none	9	A. L.	1	none
Albany	19	1 × 19	2	500				
Cambridge	22	2 × 11	1		11	A. L.	1	
Portland, Or.	11	1 × 11	2	none				
Atlanta	14	2 × 7	2	300	7	1 × 7	3	300
Grand Rapids	24	2 × 12	2	350				
Dayton	13	10 + 3	2	350				
Richmond	35	n × 6	2		21		2	
Nashville	20	1 × 20	2	5 ⁽⁶⁾				
Seattle	13	9 + 4	3-4	900				

STATISTICS OF AMERICAN CITY COUNCILS. (Continued.)

	SINGLE OR LARGER HOUSE				SMALLER HOUSE			
	NO. OF MEM-BERS	HOW CHOSEN ⁽¹⁾	TERM	SALARY ⁽²⁾	NO. OF MEM-BERS	HOW CHOSEN ⁽¹⁾	TERM	SALARY ⁽²⁾
Hartford	40	4 × 10	1	none	20	×	2	none
Reading	16	1 × 16	2	none				
Wilmington, Del.	13		2	\$240				
Camden, N.J.	25	2 × 12	2					
Trenton, N.J.	28	2 × 14	2					
Bridgeport, Conn.	24	1 × 24	2	none				
Lynn, Mass.	25	n × 7	1		11	A. L.	1	\$300
Oakland, Cal.	11	?	2	480				
Lawrence, Mass.	18	3 × 6	1	none	6	1 × 6	1	none
New Bedford, Mass.	24	4 × 6	1	none	6		1	100
Des Moines, Ia.	9	7 + 2	2	250				
Springfield, Mass.	18	n × 8	2		8		2	
Somerville, Mass.	14	2 × 7	1	none	7		1	none
Troy, N.Y.	17	1 × 17	2					
Hoboken, N.J.	10	2 × 5	2	400				
Evansville, Ind.	11	7 + 4	4	150				
Manchester, N.H.	30	3 × 10	2	none	10	×	2	3 ⁽⁶⁾
Utica, N.Y.	15	1 × 15	2	300				
Peoria, Ill.	14	2 × 7	2	3 ⁽⁶⁾				
Charleston, S.C.	24	12 + 12	4					
Savannah, Ga.	12	A. L.	2	none				
Salt Lake City	15	3 × 5	2	420				
San Antonio, Tex.	12	8 + 4	2	5 ⁽⁶⁾				
Duluth, Minn.	16	2 × 8	2	300				
Erie, Pa.	12	2 × 6						
Elizabeth, N.J.	24	2 × 12	2	1				
Wilkesbarre, Pa.	16	1 × 16	2					
Kansas City, Kan.								
Harrisburg, Pa.			2	none				
Portland, Me.	27	3 × 9	1		9	×	1	
Yonkers, N.Y.	14	2 × 7		500				
Norfolk, Va.								
Waterbury, Conn.	15	3 × 5	2	none				
Holyoke, Mass.	21	7 + 14						
Fort Wayne, Ind.	20	2 × 10	2	150				
Youngstown, O.	10	7 + 3	2	150				
Houston, Tex.	12	A. L.		5 ⁽⁶⁾				
Covington, Ky.								
Akron, O.	10	7 + 3						
Dallas, Tex.	12	8 + 4	2	120				
Saginaw, Mich.	20	1 × 20	2	2 ⁽⁶⁾				
Lancaster, Pa.	27	3 × 9	1		?			
Lincoln, Neb.		×	2	300				
Brockton, Mass.	21	3 × 7	1		7	1 × 7	1	
Binghamton, N.Y.	13	1 × 13	2	300				
Augusta, Ga.	15	3 × 5	3	150				
Pawtucket, R.I. ⁴	18	n × 5	1	100	6	5 + 1	1	150
Altoona, Pa.								
Wheeling, W. Va.	28	n × 8	2	none	16	2 × 8	4	none

STATISTICS OF AMERICAN CITY COUNCILS. (Continued.)

	SINGLE OR LARGER HOUSE				SMALLER HOUSE			
	NO. OF MEMBERS	HOW CHOSEN (1)	TERM	SALARY (2)	NO. OF MEMBERS	HOW CHOSEN (1)	TERM	SALARY (2)
Mobile, Ala.	8	1 × 8	3	none	7	A. L.	3	none
Birmingham, Ala.	18	2 × 9	4	none				
Little Rock, Ark.	16	2 × 8	2	\$120				
Springfield, O.	9	6 + 3						
Galveston, Tex.	4	A. L.	2	500				
Tacoma, Wash.	16	2 × 8	2	300				
Haverhill, Mass.	14	2 × 7	1	none	7		1	none
Spokane, Wash.								
Terre Haute, Ind.	9	6 + 3	2	150				
Dubuque, Ia.	7	5 + 2	2	300				
Quincy, Ill.	14	2 × 7	2	156				
South Bend, Ind.	10	7 + 3	2	150				
Salem, Mass.	24	4 × 6	1	none				
Johnstown, Pa.	21	1 × 21	2		21	1 × 21	4	
Elmira, N.Y.	24	2 × 12	2	100				
Allentown, Pa.	22	2 × 11						
Davenport, Ia.	8	6 + 2	2	300				
McKeesport, Pa.	22	2 × 11	2	none	11	1 × 11	2	none
Springfield, Ill.	14	2 × 7	2	156				
Chelsea, Mass.	15	5 + 10	1-2					
Chester, Pa.	22	2 × 11	2	none				
York, Pa.								
Malden, Mass.	21	3 × 7	1		7	1 × 7	1	
Topeka, Kan.		× 6	2	200				
Newton, Mass.	21	14 × 7	1-2					
Sioux City, Ia.	10	8 × 2	2	200				
Bayonne, N.J.	11	10 + 1	2					
Knoxville, Tenn.		× 11						
Chattanooga, Tenn.	12	A. L.	2	100	8	1 × 8	2	\$75
Schenectady, N.Y.	22		2	75				
Fitchburg, Mass.	18	3 × 6	1		6		1	
Superior, Wis.	20	2 × 10	2	300				
Rockford, Ill.	14	2 × 7	2	3 ⁽⁶⁾				
Taunton, Mass.	24	3 × 8	1	none	8	1 × 8	1	none
Canton, O.	9	6 + 3	2	?				
Butte, Mont.	16	2 × 8	2	300				
Montgomery, Ala.	15	12 + 3	2					
Auburn, N.Y.	10	1 × 10	2	none				
East St. Louis, Ill.	14	2 × 7	2	3 ⁽⁶⁾				
Joliet, Ill.	14	2 × 7	2	3 ⁽⁶⁾				
Sacramento, Cal.	9	1 × 9	4	250				
Racine, Wis.	14	2 × 7	2	none				
LaCrosse, Wis.	10	1 × 20	4	none				
Williamsport, Pa.	26	2 × 13	2		13		4	
Jacksonville, Fla.	18	2 × 9	2	2 ⁽⁶⁾				
Newcastle, Pa.	14	2 × 7			7			
Newport, Ky.	12		2	3 ⁽⁶⁾	5	A. L.	2	3 ⁽⁶⁾
Oshkosh, Wis.	26	2 × 13	2	none				
Woonsocket, R.I.	15	3 × 5	1	100	5	1 × 5	1	150

STATISTICS OF AMERICAN CITY COUNCILS. (Continued.)

	SINGLE OR LARGER HOUSE				SMALLER HOUSE			
	NO. OF MEMBERS	HOW CHOSEN (1)	TERM	SALARY (2)	NO. OF MEMBERS	HOW CHOSEN (1)	TERM	SALARY (2)
Pueblo, Colo.	8	1 × 8	2	\$390				
Atlantic City, N.J.								
Passaic, N.J.	13		3					
Bay City, Mich.	22	2 × 11	2	2 ⁽⁶⁾				
Fort Worth, Tex.	9	1 × 9	2	96				
Lexington, Ky.	12		2	3 ⁽⁶⁾	8	A. L.	2	\$3 ⁽⁶⁾
Gloucester, Mass.	24	3 × 8	1	none	8	1 × 8	1	none
South Omaha, Neb.	6		2	600				
New Britain, Conn.	24		2	none	6	A. L.	2	none
Council Bluffs, Ia.	8	6 + 2	2	250				
Cedar Rapids, Ia.	10	8 + 2	2	100				
Easton, Pa.	24	2 × 12	2		12	1 × 12	4	
Jackson, Mich.	16	2 × 8	2	75				

¹ The multiplication sign (×) indicates election by wards or districts, the first figure showing the number of members from each district (n indicating a variable number), and the second figure showing the number of districts.

The plus sign (+) indicates election partly by districts and partly at large. The figure given first shows the number of members elected by wards; the second figure shows the number elected at large.

A. L. indicates election at large, on a general ticket for the whole city without ward or district members.

² Annual salary is given except where otherwise noted.

³ No city council.

⁴ A small property qualification is required of electors for the city council.

⁵ Members of two administrative boards act jointly as the city council.

⁶ Per meeting.